THE INFLUENCE OF HALL ON SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLISH HISTORICAL PLAYS

A Portion of

EDWARD HALL

A Study of Sixteenth Century Historiography in England

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE BOARD OF UNIVERSITY STUDIES OF THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1935

BY

W. GORDON ZEEVELD

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THESIS SUMMARY

This thesis is an attempt to estimate the historiographical importance of Edward Hall. Until recent years, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancaster and York* has suffered ill-deserved neglect both as history and historical literature. But though the studies of C. L. Kingsford, W. Jeffries Davis, and R. Planchenault have heinstated him in an honorable place among sixteenth-century historians, his historiographical importance has hitherto been neglected. The foundation and immediate model for *The Union* is Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica*, the first extensive English history consciously to throw off the pedestrian analistic form of the medieval chronicle and assume the highly purposive, nationally minded, style conscious manner of the Renaissance. Edward Hall was the first Englishman to write any considerable portion of the English story in his native tongue and in the new manner. But what gives him his unique importance among Tudor historians is the unity and continuity which he perceived and imposed on one hundred years of English history. To him the fifteenth century in England was the story of the consequence of the usurpation of Henry Bolingbroke, a theme whose course he traces to the downfall of Richard III at Bosworth Field and the marriage of Henry VII to Elizabeth. Historiographically, *The Union* is a political document, and may be classified ideologically with sixteenth-century pamphlets on sedition, with Sackville's *Gorboduc*, and with the *Mirror for Magistrates*; like them, its text is the evil consequence of domestic dissension. While there is strong evidence that Richard Grafton did not print unaltered the work entrusted to his care, there can be no doubt that the distinctive pattern of *The Union* is Hall's own. It appears in explanatory links at key points throughout his narrative; it is repeatedly brought forward as the cause for English losses in France; even characters take on a color appropriate to his purpose.

Hall's bias is partly personal, partly political, partly religious. The exploits of Hall's ancestors may be traced through his story of the English campaigns in northern France; Henry Hall was Master of the Horse for Richard II; and Edward's great-grandfather, Sir Davy Hall, was chief counsellor to

Richard, Duke of York and father of Edward IV. Politically and religiously, *The Union* is a product of Hall's friendship with Thomas Cromwell and through him with Henry VIII. Consequently, he never loses an opportunity to link the clergy with acts of sedition. In his opinion, the truth has suffered from the prejudices of monastic historians, and he feels it his duty to expose them and to free English history from clerical perversions. He is equally anxious to protect the English story from misrepresentation by foreigners. And at the same time, by elevation of style and by occasional deliberate manipulation of sources, he enhances the glory of England.

The real significance of Hall's work lies in his presentation of the malady of a previous age as a lesson to his own generation. Stealthily, in the years while Hall composed his history, the poisonous serpent, Domestic Dissension, seemed once more to have raised his head. While Hall listened to evidence that the miracles and prophecies of Elizabeth Barton, " holy maid of Kent," the Pilgramage of Grace, and the Exeter conspiracy were the machinations of a hostile Catholic clergy gathering the scattered quiescent remannts of the party of the White Rose, the blood feuds of the fifteenth century flickered ominously into sight and were gone. Aginst these contemporary dangers, *The Union* might serve as a warning, and a dozen political pamphlets talked the same language.

But its usefulness was short lived. Even before *The Union* was off the press, a new school of antiquarians, laborious gleaners of truth like Leland and Bale, were superseding Hall's grander efforts. Stow was a good historian, a poor prophet, in praising Hall's " lustye and florishing stile . . . whiche hath hitherto beene had in great price, and wilbe in greater." Twenty years later, Christopher Watson was his only eulogist, the last before he was shorn of his regimentals and absorbed ignominiously in the vast compilations of Grafton and Holinshed. Yet one other, Shakespeare, found in Hall's history a livelier narrative, a richer characterization, and a theme which he touched with immortality.

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THE INFLUENCE OF HALL ON SHAKESPEARE'S ENGLISH HISTORICAL PLAYS

By W. Gordon Zeeveld

Edward Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families,* commonly known as Hall's chronicle, has never been fully evaluated as a source for Shakespeare's English historical plays. Boswell-Stone,[1] in comparing Holinshed and Shakespeare, drew attention incidentally to a number of passages in Shakespeare for which there was no parallel in Holinshed and which he attributed to Hall; and more recently, Miss Lucille King,[2] apparently ignoring the work of Boswell-Stone, rediscovered some of these passages and pointed out others. But Holinshed was transcribing Hall's history far more frequently than Boswell-Stone indicates, and Miss King's study embraced only the three parts of *Henry VI,* and even within these limits, lost much of its value because her observations were limited to Hall and Holinshed.

Any attempt to estimate the degree of influence of Hall's history on Shakespeare must consider the fact that Tudor historians were in the habit of lifting literally and *in extenso* from their predecessors. The core of Hall's narrative was Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica.* Polydore Vergil was the first to formulate a consecutive narrative of the entire fifteenth century. He produced a more authoritative account than his predecessors, and he strove to raise English historiography to the level of the classics by pointing out cause and effect, by introducing a running commentary designed for the profit of prince and people, by personalizing a narrative previously barren of character analysis, and by casting the story in a colorful dignified style. It is not strange that Hall in taking over the *Historia Anglica* as the backbone of his narrative should have absorbed much of this, the Renaissance spirit. For the period of the fifteenth century, he declares,

no man in the Englishe toungue, hath either set furth their honors accordyng to their desertes, nor yet declared many notable actes

[1] W. G. Boswell-Stone, *Shakspere's Holinshed: the chronicle and the historical plays compared,* London, 1896.

[2] Lucille King, "The Use of Hall's Chronicles in the Folio and Quarto Texts of Henry VI," *Philological Quarterly* 13 (October 1934). 321-332.

worthy of memorie dooen in the tyme of seuen Kynges, whiche after kyng Richarde succeeded: Excepte Robert Fabian and one with out name, whiche wrote the common English Chronicle, men worthy to be praysed for their diligence, but farre shotyng wyde from the butte of an historie.[3]

The result is a history which on grounds of style quickly fell into disrepute as "indenture English," but which achieved a new unity by interpretation. To Hall, the history of the fifteenth century was an object lesson of the disaster which overwhelms a nation torn by domestic dissension. *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families,* as its title indicates, traces the consequences of a single act, the usurpation of Henry Bolingbroke, through a century of civil strife to its settlement in the marriage of Henry VII to Elizabeth.

Succeeding historians, by tempering the florid style and reducing the characterization and motivation, lessen the dramatic value of Hall's work, and by the infiltration of new material obscure its unity. Richard Grafton's *A chronicle at large and meere history of the affayres of England,* 1568, transfers verbatim large tracts of *The Union,* not always acknowledged in margin or text; yet it is not a mere reprint. His dedication to Sir William Cecil indicates the nature of his revisions of Hall's text:

Other haue dealt but with the reignes of a few kings, & yet thereof haue made long bookes, with many tedious digressions, obscure descriptions & friuolous dilatations: which forme of writing if it should not be reformed, coulde not in the whole be folowed without pestering the Reader with importable Volumes.

Nevertheless, *A chronicle at large* was so close a transcript that when John Stow, in the *Summary of Chronicles,* charged that "somebodye (without any ingenious & plaine Declaration therof) hath published, but not without mangeling, maister Halles Booke for his owne," Grafton undertook a defense (*Abridgement of the Chronicles of England,* 1570):

where Hall spake plainly, there I suffer hym to tell his owne tale, & in the ende, allege him as my Aucthour as I do all others, though not in euery place, which were nedelesse, yet in the chiefest places & matters of weighte. And when I founde him affected with many obscure woordes, there I alleged him in as playne termes as I coulde.

[3] "Dedication to Edward VI," ed. Henry Ellis, 1809, vi. Referred to henceforth as "H."

On the whole, Grafton's revision of Hall's text, except for an occasional passage,[4] is not detectable in the plays; verbal comparisons indicate Hall as the usual source.

Holinshed's history shows considerably more variation from Hall. Like Grafton, he is impatient with Hall's "lustye and florishing stile" though he illustrates his running comment by classical allusion; but more significant is his revamping of Hall's narrative. Direct is rewritten as indirect discourse, the motives for action are frequently omitted, and characterization is reduced. Women are sometimes ushered out of the narrative, and some undignified episodes are dropped. The general result of Holinshed's revision is a shorter but less colorful narrative. In spite of its excesses in diction, Hall's history is a more human document than Holinshed's.

The evidence in the following pages will show that Shakespeare turned repeatedly to Hall rather than Holinshed in writing the historical plays, and that Hall's influence may be felt notably in Shakespeare's characterization and in a new dramatic expression of the theme by which Hall imposed unity on fifteenth-century history. Where Grafton merely reprints Hall, both page references are recorded. Evidence previously noted by Boswell-Stone and Miss King is indicated respectively by the initials "B-S" and "K." References to Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica* are to the 1534 edition, and are indicated by the initials "PV." *Henry VIII* has not been considered inasmuch as Hall's conception of the period culminated at the marriage of Henry VII; the reign of Henry VIII, as he announces at the outset, is a sequel.[5]

The extent to which Shakespeare availed himself of Hall's history may be judged by the number of verbal reminiscences in the plays for which there is no corresponding term in Holinshed:

[4] Worcester's angry departure from the conference at Windsor [*I Henry VI* 1. 3. 15-22] is not recorded specifically in H 28 or Holinshed, ed. 1808, 3. 22, though Grafton, ed. 1809, 1. 489, writes: "and thys answere pleased nothing the Erle of Worcester, but put him in a great Choler and chafe, and departed in a great rage and fume." Holinshed and Grafton in the above edition will be referred to henceforth as "Hol" and "G."

[5] H 2: "What profite, what comfort, what ioy succeded in the realme of England by the vnion of the fornamed two noble families, you shall apparantly perceiue by the sequele of this rude and vnlearned history."

H2 [The Mortimers] whiche Roger [4th] had issue Edmond Mortimer [5th] erle of Marche, Anne and Elienor, whiche Edmond and Elianor died without issue. [K]	G 1. 669 . . .	Hol 3.265-6: which Roger had issue of Edmund erle of March, Roger Mortimer, Anne, Elianor; which Edmund, Roger, and Elianor died without issue.	*II Henry VI* 2. 2. 38: Roger had issue Edmund, Anne, and Eleanor.
H5 [Hereford's horse] barbed with blewe and grene velvet	G 1. 471 . . .	Hol 2. 847: barded with gréene & blew velvet	*Richard II* 3. 3. 117: His barbed steeds,
H13: The vnquiete tyme of kyng Henry the fourthe.	G 1. 478 . . .	Hol 3. 1 . . .	*II Henry IV*, 1. 2. 172-3: you may thank the unquiet time for your quiet o'erposting that action. *Henry V* 1. 1. 4: the scambling and unquiet time
H23 [Glendower holds Lord Grey] kept hym with his wife still in captiuitee till he died. [B-S 257-8]	G 1. 485: kept him with his wife still in prison vntill he dyed:	Hol 3. 17 . . .	*II Henry VI* 2. 2. 42: [Glendower holds Mortimer] Who kept him in captivity till he died.
H27 [A comet] signified great effusion of mannes blud,	G 1. 489: [same]	Hol 3. 22 . . .	*I Henry VI* 5. 1. 9: [A truce] as the only means To stop effusion of our Christian blood,
H65: theffusion of Christen bloud.	G 1. 515 [same]	Hol 3. 77 . . .	
H203: the effusion of so muche Christen bloud	G 1. 625 [same]	Hol 3. 206 . . .	
H27 [Percies' prisoners] and to deliuer theym vtterly denaied,	G 1. 489 [same]	Hol 3. 22 . . .	*I Henry IV* 1. 3. 29, 77: My liege, I did deny no prisoners:
H28 [Moldwarp prophecy] by the deuiacion and not deuinatiõ of that mawmet Merlin.	G 1. 489: by the prophecie of Mawmet Marlyn:	Hol 3. 23: such is the deuiation (saith Hall) and not diuination of those blind and fantasticall dreames of the Welsh prophesiers.	*I Henry IV* 3. 1. 149: the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies,
H57: a tunne of tennis balles	G 1. 509 [same]	Hol 3. 64: barrell of Paris balles	*Henry V* 1. 2. 255: This tun of treasure;
H61 [Henry V to conspirators] some wild worme in your heades hath caused you to conspire my death	G 1. 512: what should moue you to deuise or conspire my death,	Hol 3. 70 . . .	*Henry V* 2. 2. 167: You have conspir'd against our royal person,

H64 [Henry V warns French] I in my defence shall coloure and make redde your tawny grounde [B-S 184-5]	G 1. 515 . . .	Hol 3. 77: I die your tawnie ground with your red bloud.	*Henry V* 3. 6. 173-4: We shall your tawny ground with your red blood Discolour:
H114: The trobleous season of kyng Henry the sixt.	G 1. 549 . . .	Hol 3. 136 . . .	*III Henry VI* 2. 1. 159: But, in this troublous time what's to be done?
H204 [Cession of Anjou and Maine] should be released and deliuered, to the kyng her father, [B-S 244[1]]	G 1. 624 [same]	Hol 3. 206: should be deliuered to the king, the brides father,	*II Henry VI* 1. 1. 60-61: shall be released and delivered over to the king her father
H263 [Réné and Margaret] although her father was called a kyng and she a quene, & none of both hauing subiectes, profites, nor dominions	G 2. 7 [same]	Hol 3. 283 . . .	*II Henry VI* 4. 1. 81-2: . . . the daughter of a worthless king, Having neither subject, wealth, nor diadem.
H222: Alexander Iden, esquire of Kent [B-S 283-4; K.]	G 1. 643 [same]	Hol 3. 227: a gentleman of Kent named Alexander Eden.	*II Henry VI* 4. 10. 46: Alexander Iden, an esquire of Kent,
H232 [Margaret] ruled the rost	G 1. 653 [same]	Hol 3. 238: which then bare the chiefe rule	*II Henry VI* 1. 1. 110: [Suffolk] rules the roast,
H265 [Edward's repudiation of the French marriage] apparantly mocked, without any cause reasonable.	G 2. 8 [same]	Hol 3. 284 . . .	*III Henry VI* 3. 3. 254-5: King Lewis: I long till Edward fall by war's mischance, For mocking marriage with a dame of France. [See also line 265.]
PV510: H273 [Edward to follow Pembroke] he hymself in persone royall, would folowe hym with all his power. [K]	G 2. 15 [same]	Hol 3. 291 . . .	*III Henry VI* 4. 1. 133: Myself in person will straight follow you,
H281 [Clarence avows Yorkist allegiance] it was neither naturall, nor honorable to hym, either to condiscende or take parte, against the house of Yorke (of whiche he was lineally discended) and to set vp again the house of Lancastre,	G 2. 23 [same]	Hol 3. 296: to leaue off the pursute of his conceiued displeasure towards his brother king Edward,	*III Henry VI* 5. 1. 83-8: I will not ruinate my father's house, Who gave his blood to lime the stones together, And set up Lancaster. Why, trow'st thou, Warwick, That Clarence is so harsh, so blunt, unnatural,

[B-S 336; K]			To bend the fatal instruments of war Against his brother and his lawful king?
H283 [Joy at Edward's escape] all the Townes and all the countrey adiacent was in a great rore, and made fiers and sang songes, cryeng kynge Henry, kyng Henry, a Warwycke a Warwycke. [B-S 323[1]]	G 2. 25 [same]	Hol 3. 296 . . .	*III Henry VI* 4. 2. 27: Applaud the name of Henry with your leader. [*They all cry* 'Henry!']
H343 [Richard slays Henry VI] saiynge now is there no heire male of kynge Edwarde the thirde, but wee of the house of Yorke:	G 2. 81 . . .	Hol 3. 362 . . .	*Richard III* 4. 4. 472-3: What heir of York is there alive but we? And who is England's king but great York's heir?
H379-380 [Elizabeth's lament] calling by name diuers times her swete babes,	G 2. 119 [same]	Hol 3. 403 . . .	*Richard III* 4. 4. 9-10: Ah! my poor princes! ah, my tender babes, My unblown flowers, new-appearing sweets,

Occasional historical data in Hall but not recorded in Holinshed give further evidence that Shakespeare regularly utilized Hall's history as a source.

H3 [Richard II at Coventry] called to hym the duke of Lancastre and his counsaill, and also the dukes of Herfforde and Norffolk, & caused the accusor to report opēly the wordes to him declared,	G 1. 469 [same]	Hol 2. 844 . . .	*Richard II* 1. 1. 15-17: Then call them to our presence: face to face, And frowning brow to brow, ourselves will hear The accuser and the accused freely speak:
H8 [Bolingbroke's first supporters] the erles of Northumbrelande and Westmerlande, the lordes Percy, Rose, Willoughby.	G 1. 472 [same]	Hol 2. 853: the lords of Lincolneshire, and other countries adioining, as the lords Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont.	*Richard II* 2. 2. 53-4: The Lord Northumberland, his son young Henry Percy, The Lords of Ross, Beaumond, and Willoughby,
H28 [Percies' adherents withdraw] whether it wer for feare, ether for that thei would be lokers on and no dede doers, nether promise by worde or by writyng was performed.	G 1. 490 [same]	Hol 3. 23 . . .	*I Henry IV* 2. 3. 13-6: The purpose you undertake is dangerous; the friends you have named uncertain; the time itself unsorted; and your whole plot too light for the counterpoise of so great an opposition.

H45 [Henry IV's apoplexy: a marginal gloss] ingẽdered of grose humors whiche fil the vessels of the heade from whence the felyng of the body commeth. And therefore they whiche haue this disease are depreued of felyng, speache & mouyng.	G 1. 506 . . .	Hol 2. 57 . . .	*II Henry IV* 1. 2. 123-141: FALSTAFF. And I hear, moreover, his highness is fallen into this same whoreson apoplexy. CHIEF JUSTICE. Well, heaven mend him! I pray you, let me speak with you. F. This apoplexy is, as I take it, a kind of lethargy, an't please your lordship; a kind of sleeping in the blood, a whoreson tingling. CH. J. What tell you me of it? be it as it is. F. It hath its original from much grief, from study and perturbation of the brain. I have read the cause of his effects in Galen; it is a kind of deafness. CH. J. I think you are fallen into the disease, for you hear not what I say to you. F. Very well, my lord, very well: rather, an't please you, it is the disease of not listening, the malady of not marking, that I am troubled withal.
H222 [Iden slays Cade in self defence] [K]	G 1. 643 [same]	Hol 3. 227 . . .	*II Henry VI* 4. 10. 26-63.
H252 [Henry in Warwick's company after Wakefield.] [B-S 301-2; K.]	G 1. 672 [same]	Hol 3. 270 . . .	*III Henry VI* 2. 1. 115.
H265 [Edward obtained the kingdom only by Warwick's aid.]	G 2. 8 [same]	Hol 3. 284 . . .	*III Henry VI* 3. 3. 262.
H265 [Warwick decides to depose Edward] [K]	G 2. 8 [same]	Hol 3. 284 . . .	*III Henry VI* 3. 3. 181-194.
H271 [Woodville marriage alliances] This you knowe well enough, that the heire of the Lorde Scales he hath maried to his wifes brother, the heire also of the lorde	G 2. 13 [same]	Hol 3. 290 . . .	*III Henry VI* 4. 1. 47-58: CLARENCE. For this one speech Lord Hastings well deserves To have the heir of Lord Hungerford.

Bonuile and Haryngton, he hath geuen to his wifes sonne, and theire of the lorde Hungerford, he hath graunted to the lorde Hastynges: thre mariages more meter for his twoo brethren and kynne, then for suche new foundlynges, as he hath bestowed theim on. [B-S 318-9; K.]			KING EDWARD. Ay, what of that? it was my will and grant; And for this once my will shall stand for law. GLOUCESTER. And yet methinks your Grace hath not done well, To give the heir and daughter of Lord Scales Unto the brother of your loving bride: She better would have fitted me or Clarence: But in your bride you bury brotherhood. CLAR. Or else you would not have bestow'd the heir Of the Lord Bonville on your new wife's son, And leave your brothers to go speed elsewhere.
PV517: H291 [Warwick orders the gates of York shut to Edward.]	G 2. 33 [same]	Hol 3. 304 . . .	*III Henry VI* 4. 7. 17-8.
H294 [Henry's recommitment to the Tower.] [B-S 333]	G 2. 36 [same]	Hol 3. 310 . . .	*III Henry VI* 4. 8. 52-3, 57.
PV523: H301 [Margaret's deportation to France.]	G 2. 43 [same]	Hol 3. 321 . . .	*III Henry VI* 5. 7. 41.
H301 [Fauconbridge's commission to guard the channel against Henry's enemies.]	G 2. 43 [same]	Hol 3. 321 . . .	*III Henry VI* 1. 1. 239.
PV529: H324 [John Chenlet's rescue of the Earl of Richmond.] Here a man may euidently perceyue the olde Greke prouerbe to bee very trew, which is that a man, to a man shall sometyme be as a God.	G 2. 65 [same]	Hol 3. 343 . . .	*Richard II* 5. 3. 136: [The Duchess of York thanks Bolingbroke] A god on earth thou art.
H347 [Buckingham the first to help Richard of Gloucester to the crown] Henry the duke of Buckyngham was the firste that sente to him after his brothers death.	G 2. 83 [same]	Hol 3. 363 . . .	*Richard III* 5. 3. 168: The first was I that help'd thee to the crown;
H362 [Catesby the author of Hastings' indictment.]	G 2. 100 [same]	Hol 3. 383 . . .	*Richard III* 3. 6. 6-7.

The evidence so far presented indicates that Shakespeare utilized Hall as well as Holinshed in the English historical plays; but there is also evidence to show that Shakespeare gave dramatic expression to the very qualities in Hall's history which later historians rejected or ignored: the elevation of style by means of oration and rhetorical figure, liveliness of narrative detail, development of character and motive, and the domination of theme in the establishment of continuity in fifteenth-century history.

For the rhetorical speeches by which Hall hoped to raise the level of English history to that of other countries, his successors had scant respect. Grafton left them out altogether, and Holinshed, if he retained them at all, contented himself with a short summary of their contents in indirect discourse. But Shakespeare found it worth while to scan them for dramatic material, and the elaborate parliamentary debate which culminated in Henry V's decision to make war on France, the orations before Agincourt and on the occasion of the Duke of Burgundy's alliance with Charles were all drawn upon in the plays.

H52 [Chichele's exhortation of Henry V] diminishe not your title, which your noble progenitors so highly haue estemed	*Henry V* 1. 2. 102-119 [The archbishop calls upon the king to invoke the warlike spirit of his great grandfather, Edward III, and Edward's son, the Black Prince.]
H54 [The English never invade France but the Scots attack.]	*Henry V* 1. 2. 146-154.
H55-6 [The lords of the Marches would be sufficient border guard during Henry's absence in France.]	*Henry V* 1. 2. 140-2.
H66 [Famine weakens the English valor]	*Henry V* 3. 5. 56-60.
H66 [No Englishman thrives without his beef.]	*Henry V* 3. 7. 166-172. *I Henry VI* 1. 2. 7-12. [B-S 185[3].]
H67 [Henry urges his army not to fear numbers in the enemy.]	*Henry V* 4. 1. 310-312.
H67 [In the event of victory, there is honor in small numbers.]	*Henry V* 4. 3. 20-2.
H177 [Charles begs Burgundy's aid] by your healp and aide, we shall expell, cleane pull vp by the rootes, and put out, all the Englishe nacion, out of our realmes, territories and dominions. [B-S 226.]	*I Henry VI* 3. 3. 21-4 [Charles answers Joan of Arc's suggestion that Burgundy be won over] Ay, marry, sweeting, if we could do that, France were no place for Henry's warriors; Nor should that nation boast it so with us, But be extirped from our provinces.

Occasionally, Hall's use of rhetorical figure catches Shakespeare's fancy. One expression, adopted literally, has already been mentioned.[6] Others, though less literal, follow.

H6 [Edmund Duke of York prays daily for Richard II] to deuerte from kyng Richarde the darke clowde whiche he sawe dependyng ouer his hed.	G 1. 471 [same]	Hol . . .	*Richard II* 2. 1. 264-5: [Ross and Northumberland discuss the state of Richard's affairs] . . . hear this fearful tempest sing, Yet seek no shelter to avoid the storm;
H73 [Lamentation in France after Agincourt] And yet the dolor was not onely his, for the ladies souned for the deathes of their husebandes, the Orphalines wept and rent their heares for the losse of their parentes, the faire damoselles defied that day in the whiche they had lost their paramors, the seruãtes waxed mad for destrucciõ of their masters, and finally, euery frend for his frend, euery cosyn for his alye, euery neighbor for his neighbor, was sorry, displeased & greued.	G . . .	Hol . . .	*Henry V* 2. 4. 105-9: [Exeter threatens the the French king] . . . on your head Turning the widows' tears, the orphans' cries, The dead men's blood, the pining maidens' groans, For husbands, fathers, and betrothed lovers, That shall be swallow'd in this controversy.
H149 [Celebration at raising of siege] what triumphes wer made in the citee of Orleaunce, what wood was spente in fiers, what wyne was dronke in houses, what songes wer song in the stretes, what melody was made in Tauernes, what roundes were daunced, in large and brode places, what lightes were set vp in the churches, what anthemes, wer song in Chapelles, and what ioye was shewed in euery place, it were a long woorke and yet no necessary cause.	G . . .	Hol . . .	*I Henry VI* 1. 6. 11-14: Reignier. Why ring not out the bells throughout the town? Dauphin, command the citizens make bonfires And feast and banquet in the open streets, To celebrate the joy that God hath given us.

[6] H232: *II Henry VI* 1. 1. 110. See above, p. 321.

H256 [The battle at Towton] The one parte some time flowyng, and sometime ebbyng, [B-S 306; K]	G 1. 676 [same]	Hol 3. 278: vncerteinlie heauing and setting on both sides;	*III Henry VI* 2. 5. 9-12.
H232 [Warwick's rise in popularity] whiche waie he bowed, that waie ranne the streame, and what part he auaunced, that side gat the superioritie.	G 1. 652 [same]	Hol . . .	*III Henry VI* 3. 3. 47-8: Ay, now begins a second storm to rise; For this is he that moves both wind and tide.
H251 [Clifford murders Rutland] the lord Clyfford was accompted a tyraunt, and no gentelman, for the propertie of the Lyon, which is a furious and an vnreasonable beaste, is to be cruell to them that withstande hym, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate them selfes before him. [B-S 298]	G 1. 671 [same]	Hol . . .	*III Henry VI* 1. 3. 12-5: So looks the pent-up lion o'er the wretch That trembles under his devouring paws; And so he walks, insulting o'er his prey, And so he comes to rend his limbs asunder.
H264 [Edward's love for Elizabeth] where he was a littell before heated with the darte of Cupido, he was nowe set all on a hote burnyng fyre.	G 2. 7 [same]	Hol . . .	*III Henry VI* 3. 2. 51: GLOUCESTER. As red as fire! nay, then her wax must melt.
H256 [Towton] This conflict was in maner vnnaturall, for in it the sonne fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the vncle, and the tenaũt against his lord, [B-S 306; K.]	G 1. 676-7 [same]	Hol . . .	*III Henry VI* 2. 5.

Shakespeare has drawn on Hall's history for narrative as well as descriptive material. His preference of Hall to Holinshed is most marked in such passages as Henry IV's discovery of the Holland conspiracy, the circumstance of the death of Talbot and his son at Chastillon, and the battle at Wakefield, where Holinshed's narrative, though it is based on Hall's, is less vivid, generally less dramatic.

In Hall's story of the Holland conspiracy, Aumerle, one of the conspirators, has presented himself at dinner with his father, the Duke of York, the indenture of the conspiracy in his bosom:

The father espied it and demaunded what it was, his sonne lowely and beningly answered that it myght not bee sene, and that it touched not him. By saint George quod the father I will see it, and so by force toke it out of his bosome, when he perceaued the content and the sixe signes and seales sette and fixed to the same, whereof the seale of his sonne was one, he sodainlie rose from the table, cõmaundyng his horses to be sadeled, and in a greate furie saied to his sonne, thou trayter thefe, thou hast bene a traitour to kyng Richard, and wilt thou nowe be falce to thy cosen kyng Henry? thou knowest wel inough that I am thy pledge borowe and mayneperner, body for body, and land for goodes in open parliament, and goest thou about to seke my death and destruction? by the holy rode I had leauer see the strangeled on a gibbet. And so the duke of Yorke moũted on horsbacke to ride toward Windsor to the kyng. . . .[7]

Holinshed's version is tamer:

The father espieing it, would needs see what it was: and though the sonne humblie denied to shew it, the father being more earnest to see it, by force tooke it out of his bosome; and perceiuing the contents thereof, in a great rage caused his horsses to be sadled out of hand, and spitefullie reproouing his sonne of treason, for whome he was become suertie and mainpernour for his good abearing in open parlement, he incontinentlie mounted on horssebacke to ride towards Windsore to the king.[8]

The account in *Richard II* is closer to Hall in the following instances:

> York. I am in parliament pledge for his truth
> And lasting fealty to the new-made king.[9]

He asks Aumerle, " What seal is that that hangs without thy bosom? " (line 56). Aumerle passes it off as

> a matter of small consequence,
> Which for some reasons I would not have seen. (61-2)

And when York discovers the contents, he exclaims, " Treason! foul treason! villain; traitor! slave! " (72).

Hall is more specific than Holinshed as a source for Talbot's statement:

> This happy night the Frenchmen are secure,
> Having all day carous'd and banqueted.

[7] H 17-18. [8] Hol 3. 10. [9] H 18; G 1. 481; *Richard II* 5. 2. 44-5.

Holinshed's phrase " verie negligentlie vsed themselues, without taking heed to their watch " derives from Hall's: " began to waxe wanton and felle to riote." [10]

Hall's account of the battle at Chastillon offers verbal parallels not present in Holinshed's reduced version. When Talbot realizes the danger of the situation, he urges his son to fly:

> But whẽ the sonne had aũswered that it was neither honest nor natural for him, to leue his father in the extreme ieopardye of his life, and that he woulde taste of that draught, which his father and Parent should assay and begyn: The noble erle & comfortable capitayn sayd to him: Oh sonne sonne, I thy father, which hath subuerted so many townes, and profligate and discomfited so many of them in open battayle, and marcial conflict, neither cã here dye, for the honor of my countrey, without great laude and perpetuall fame, nor flye or departe without perpetuall shame and cõtinualle infamy. But because this is thy first iorney and enterprise, neither thy flyeng shall redounde to thy shame, nor thy death to thy glory: for as hardy a man wisely flieth, as a temerarious person folishely abidethe, therefore ye fleyng of me shalebe ye dishonor, not only of me & my progenie, but also a discomfiture of all my company: thy departure shall saue thy lyfe, and make the able another tyme, if I be slayn to reuenge my death and to do honor to thy Prince and profyt to his Realme.[11]

In Holinshed, Talbot urges flight: " sith the same could not redound to anie great reproch in him, this being the first iournie in which he had béene present. Manie words he vsed to persuade him to haue saued his life." [12] Shakespeare apparently had reference to Hall in the following instances:

> Fly, to revenge my death, if I be slain. . . .
>
> Thou never hadst renown, nor canst not lose it. . . .
>
> And leave my followers here to fight and die?
> My age was never tainted with such shame. . . .
>
> Fly, to revenge my death when I am dead; . . .
>
> My death's revenge, thy youth, and England's fame.
> All these and more we hazard by thy stay;
> All these are sav'd if thou wilt fly away. . . .
>
> An if I fly, I am not Talbot's son.[13]

[10] *I Henry VI* 2. 1. 11-12 [K]; H 143; G 1. 575; Hol 3. 160.
[11] H 229; G 1. 650.
[12] Hol 3. 236.
[13] *I Henry VI* 4. 5. 18 [K], 40 [B-S 232; K], 45-6 [B-S 232]; 4. 6. 30, 39-41 [B-S 232], 51.

Shakespeare made use of Hall's account of the death of Rutland by the hand of Clifford:

Saue him sayde his Chappelein, for he is a princes sonne, and peraduenture may do you good hereafter. With that word, the lord Clifford marked him and sayde: by Gods blode, thy father slew myne, and so wil I do the and all thy kyn, and with that woord, stacke the erle to ye hart with his dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother & brother worde what he had done, and sayde.[14]

The plays shows the following similarities:

> As for the brat of this accursed duke,
> Whose father slew my father, he shall die. . . .
>
> Ah! Clifford, murder not this innocent child,
> Lest thou be hated both of God and man!
>
> Had I thy brethren here, their lives and thine
> Were not revenge sufficient for me;
> No, if I digg'd up thy forefathers' graves,
> And hung their rotten coffins up in chains,
> It could not slake mine ire, nor ease my heart.
> The sight of any of the house of York
> Is as a fury to torment my soul;
> And till I root out their accursed line,
> And leave not one alive, I live in hell.
>
> RUTLAND. Then let me die, for now thou hast no cause.
> CLIFFORD. No cause!
> Thy father slew my father; therefore, die.[15]

The Burdet episode was reprinted from More's *Richard III* by Hall and Grafton; but Holinshed omits it:

This man . . . saied to his awne some that he would make hym in heritor of ye croune, meanyng his awne house: but these wordes king Edward made to be mysconstrucd, & interpreted that Burdet meant the croune of the realme: wherfore within lesse space then. iiij. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawen and quartered in Chepe syde.[16]

In *Richard III*, Gloucester suggests using the story to discredit Edward:

> Tell them how Edward put to death a citizen,
> Only for saying he would make his son

[14] H 251; G 1. 671.
[15] *III Henry VI* 1. 3. 4-5, 8-9 [B-S 297-8], 25-33 [K], 45-7 [B-S 232].
[16] H 369; G 2. 107.

Heir to the crown; meaning indeed his house,
Which by the sign thereof was termed so.[17]

No Tudor history is richer in the materials for characterization than *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families*. That Shakespeare recognized this fact is apparent in the plays.

The character of Henry IV as "this vile politician," developed by Shakespeare at many points in his narrative,[18] lies in embryo in Hall. In a passage much reduced in Holinshed's version, Hall speaks of Hereford as "aprudente and politike persone, but not more politike then welbeloued," [19] and this point of view is borne out when his criticism of the king is falsely reported by Norfolk:

somewhat vnquieted for the noueltie of the thyng, or troubled with anger for the vntruth of the matter, stode stil & paused a good while lokyng stedfastly vpõ the king. And after yt takyng a good corage to hym, makyng low obeisãce, besought his highnes to cõceiue no mistrust in hym til he had seen & herd more.[20]

In *Richard II*, when the king asks

If he appeal the duke on ancient malice,
Or worthily, as a good subject should,
On some known ground of treachery in him?

Gaunt answers

As near as I could sift him on that argument,
On some apparent danger seen in him
Aim'd at your highness, no inveterate malice.[21]

The passage apparently derives from Hall, who speaks of the occasion when Hereford broke his mind to Norfolk, "more for dolour and lamentacion, then for malice or displeasure." [22] Worcester's reminder of the oath Henry took at Doncaster is extracted from the Tripartite Endenture in Hall:

[17] *Richard III* 3. 5. 75-8. [B-S 375-6.]

[18] See *Richard II* 1. 4. 23-36; 3. 3. 35-60; *I Henry IV* 1. 3. 241; 4. 3. 52-103; *II Henry IV* 4. 5. 182-4.

[19] H 3; Cf. G 1. 469: "a prudent and wyse man, and welbeloued of all."

[20] H 3; G 1. 469: "He was somewhat troubled therewith and pawsed awhyle." In Hol 3. 844, it is Norfolk who offers the criticism and Bolingbroke who publicly challenges its truth.

[21] *Richard II* 1. 1. 8-14.

[22] H 3; G 1. 469. The phrase is a curious rendering of PV 418: "multa dolenter potius quam libenter."

thou madest an othe to vs vpon the holy Gospelles bodely touched and kissed by thee at Dancastre that thou wouldest neuer claime the croune, kyngdom or state royall but only thyne owne propre inheritance, and the inheritance of thy wife.[23]

Shakespeare uses the same terminology:

> You swore to us,
> And you did swear that oath at Doncaster,
> That you did nothing purpose 'gainst the state,
> Nor claim no further than your new-fall'n right,
> The seat of Gaunt, dukedom of Lancaster.[24]

Henry's popularity, attested by Westmoreland in *II Henry IV*,

> and all their prayers and love
> Were set on Hereford, whom they doted on
> And bless'd and grac'd indeed, more than the king.

is substantiated in Hall on the occasion of the duke's banishment:

When the people whiche hertely loued the duke of Herfford heard this crie, thei wer not a litle amased, & marueled muche that he which had doen his deuor to the performance of his chalenge should be thus banished and exiled.[25]

At the end of his life, " entendyng to liue in quietenes, beyng now deliuered of all Ciuill deuision and intestine discencion," he lays plans for a crusade. He mentions his plan twice in Shakespeare, each time assured that " the intestine shock And furious close of civil butchery," " this debate that bleedeth at our doors," is at an end.[26]

Of Richard II, one learns from Hall that he " litle or nothyng regarded the counsaill of his vncles, nor of other graue and sadde persones." So, in Shakespeare, when the dying Gaunt asks for the king, York responds,

> Vex not yourself, nor strive not with your breath;
> For all in vain comes counsel to his ear.[27]

Hall remarks that Richard " distributed the dukes [Hereford's]

[23] H 29; G 1. 490-1.
[24] *I Henry IV* 5. 1. 41-5.
[25] H 5; *II Henry IV* 4. 1. 137-9.
[26] H 44-5; G 1. 502: " King Henrie being nowe at quiet, and not troubled with ciuile dissension, nor warres in his realme "; *I Henry IV* 1. 1. 1-18; *II Henry IV* 4. 4. 1-10.
[27] H 3; G 1. 469; *Richard II* 2. 1. 3-4.

landes to his paresites and flatterering foloers," a fact which was judged " vnlawfull, vniust and vngodly, to depriue a man beyng banished out of the realme without deserte, withoute culpe, and without cause, of his inheritaunce and patrimony." Bolingbroke in *Richard II*, protests the loss of

> rights and royalties,
> Pluck'd from my arms perforce and given away
> To upstart unthifts? [28]

For the fact that Richard " had no small truste in Welshemen," Hall is the sole authority.[29]

Hall's single characterization of Northumberland as one " whiche bare still a venemous scorpion in his cankered heart, and coulde not desist to inuent and deuise waies and meanes howe to be reuenged of kyng Henry and his fautours," may have influenced Hastings' comment,

> whose bosom burns
> With an incensed fire of injuries.[30]

Hall has nothing but praise for Henry V: his leniency in war, his faith that God alone was responsible for his victories, his prudence in counsel, and his martial expertness. Shakespeare's Henry likewise shows the same excellent qualities, sometimes with verbal likenesses.[31]

Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, in both Hall and Shakespeare fits the Tudor conception. But on two occasions, Shakespeare seems to have referred particularly to Hall. In describing Henry V's opposition to Beaufort's cardinalate, Hall comments, " meanyng that cardinalles Hattes should not presume to be egall with Princes." Shakespeare remembers the passage:

> Henry the Fifth did sometime prophesy,—
> " If once he come to be a cardinal,
> He'll make his cap co-equal with the crown." [32]

[28] H 5; G 1. 471; *Richard II* 2. 3. 120-2. See also line 139.

[29] H 8. Shakespeare refers to this trust twice: *Richard II* 2. 4. 5-6, a verbal reminiscence, and *Richard II* 3. 2. 73-7.

[30] H 34; G 1. 496: " bearing no little hatred vnto King Henrie "; *II Henry IV* 1. 3. 13-4.

[31] H 63; G 1. 514; *II Henry IV* 4. 4. 31-2, *Henry V* 3. 6. 116-123. H 70; G 1. 518-9; H 72; *Henry V* 4. 7. 91. PV 449: H 95-6; G 113 [Cf. G 1. 548]; *Henry V* 1. 1. 43-48.

[32] H 139; G 1. 571-2; *I Henry VI* 5. 1. 31-3 [B-S 235-6, 236[1]; K].

Boswell-Stone has noted that the source for Beaufort's death-bed remarks is in Hall:

doctor Ihon Baker his pryuie counsailer, and his chappelleyn, wrote, that he lyeng on his death bed, said these wordes. "Why should I dye hauīg so muche ryches, if the whole Realme would saue my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by ryches to bye it. Fye, will not death be hyered, nor will money do nothyng?"

In *II Henry VI*, when Henry inquires of his health, the cardinal answers,

> If thou be'st death, I'll give thee England's treasure,
> Enough to purchase such another island,
> So thou wilt let me live, and feel no pain.[33]

Hall develops the legend of Joan, though very little of Hall's influence is apparent in Shakespeare. Hall's epithet, "sathanicall enchaunterese," omitted by Holinshed, is possibly recalled in York's exclamation: "Fell banning hag, enchantress, hold thy tongue!" and Charles' remark, "France, triumph in thy glorious prophetess!" may be reminiscent of Hall's disparagement of Joan's prophetic powers.[34]

Hall's characterization of York and Margaret is unusually full. He portrays York as a subtle man, excellent as a soldier though hampered by the jealousies of his rivals, and capable of stirring loyalties. When York returns from his regency in France, Hall remarks that he is "neither wholy pleased, nor halfe content. For he secretly smelled, that some men, priuely disdained his aduancement, and enuied his promociō: yet, (like a wise man) he kept his toung close, whatsoeuer his harte thought." In *I Henry VI*, after his appointment to the regency, York bridles his anger when Henry chooses the red rose, and Exeter approves:

> Well didst thou, Richard, to suppress thy voice;
> For had the passions of thy heart burst out,
> I fear we should have seen decipher'd there
> More rancorous spite, more furious raging broils,
> Than yet can be imagin'd or suppos'd.[35]

In his plot to gain the throne, York is equally secret. Hall tells

[33] H 210-1; G 1. 631; *II Henry VI* 3. 3. 2-4. [B-S 269; K.]

[34] H 151, 157; G. 1. 589; *I Henry VI* 5. 3. 42; H 148; G 1. 580; *I Henry VI* 1. 6. 8.

[35] H 188; G 1. 614; *I Henry VI* 4. 1. 179-186.

how his friends " began to practise the gouernaũce of his title: Infusyng and puttyng into mens heades secretely his right to ye crown." In *II Henry VI*, York refuses the title of king till he is crowned

> And that's not suddenly to be perform'd,
> But with advice and silent secrecy.[36]

Hall describes his circumspectness in connection with the Cade rebellion:

And to set opẽ the fludde gates of these deuises, it was thought necessary, to cause some great commociõ and rysyng of people to be made against the King: so that if they preuayled, then had the duke of Yorke and his complices, there appetite and desire.

So in *II Henry VI:*

> By this I shall perceive the commons' mind
> How they affect the house and claim of York.
> Say he be taken, rack'd, and tortured.
> I know no pain they can inflict upon him
> Will make him say I mov'd him to those arms.
> Say that he thrive,—as 'tis great like he will,—
> Why, then from Ireland come I with my strength,
> And reap the harvest which that rascal sow'd.[37]

The duplicity of York's acts is made perfectly clear in Hall, who discounts his vountary approach and submission to the king, " which thinges he did onely for a cautele, (as afterward openly appeared)," and later refers to his " cloked gẽtlenes, and subornate fashiõ." This point of view is brought out repeatedly in the plays.[38]

Yet, in spite of his underhanded methods, York is far from a villain. His success as governor in Ireland and as regent in France prove his capability as a governor in marked contrast to the inefficient Henry. In Hall, York's supporters point to

his gentle behauior, to all the Iryshe nacion, affirmyng, that he whiche had brought that rude and sauage nacion, to ciuile fashion, and Englishe vrbanitie, [G 1. 640: " maners "] wolde, (if he once ruled in the Realme of England) depose euil counsaillers, correct euil iudges, & reforme all matters amisse, and vnamẽded.

[36] H 219; G 1. 640; *II Henry VI* 2. 2. 67-8.
[37] H 219; G 1. 640; *II Henry VI* 3. 1. 374-381.
[38] H 227; G 1. 648; H 234; G 1. 655; *II Henry VI* 1. 1. 249-251; 5. 1. 13, 30-1.

Of his deeds in France, he himself reminds Sir Davy Hall before the battle at Wakefield:

Thou neuer sawest me kepe fortres when I was Regent in Normandy, when the Dolphyn hymself, with his puissaunce came to besiege me, but like a man, and not like a birde included in a cage, I issued and fought with myne enemies, to their losse euer (I thanke God) and to my honor:

Salisbury in *II Henry VI* reminds him that both achievements,

> thy acts in Ireland,
> In bringing them to civil discipline,
> Thy late exploits done in the heart of France,
> When thou wert regent for our sovereign,
> Have made thee fear'd and honour'd of the people.[39]

York's personal courage, in matter of fact, is an outstanding quality in both Hall and the plays. Matched against a woman, Hall makes him say scornfully:

If I haue not kepte my self within walles, for feare of a great and strong prince, nor hid my face from any man liuyng, wouldest thou that I for dread of a scolding woman, whose weapon is onely her toungue, and her nayles, should incarcerate my self, and shut my gates then al men might of me woundre and all creatures maie of me report dishonor, that a woman hath made me a dastard, whō no man euer to this daie could yet proue a coward:

On the same occasion in *III Henry VI*, Richard of Gloucester is introduced in an unhistoric role to express the same scorn: "A woman's general; what should we fear?" To which York responds

> Five men to twenty! though the odds be great,
> I doubt not, uncle of our victory.
> Many a battle have I won in France,
> When as the enemy hath been ten to one:
> Why should I not now have the like success? [40]

Hall's development of York's character is not surprising, inasmuch as Sir Davy Hall, York's personal advisor, appointed by him as captain of Caen, was Edward Hall's great-grandfather; but it is interesting that Shakespeare's York developed so noticeably through Hall's characterization.

[39] H 219; G 1. 640; H 250; G 1. 670; *II Henry VI* 1. 1. 195-9.
[40] H 250; G 1. 670; *III Henry VI* 1. 2. 68-75. [B-S 297, 297[1]; K.]

The character of Margaret of Anjou offered even greater opportunities for dramatic development. Hall is largely responsible for the maligning of her public and private character, and especially for the dominant part she takes in the murder of Humphrey of Gloucester. In Holinshed, the characterization is curtailed, and Shakespeare must have turned to Hall in the following instances. Suffolk cries her up to Henry on his return from France: "as who would saie, that she was of suche an excellent beautie, and of so high a parentage, that almoste no king or Emperor, was worthy to be her make." The lines are similar in Shakespeare:

> Whom should we match with Henry, being a king,
> But Margaret, that is daughter to a king?
> Her peerless feature, joined with her birth,
> Approves her fit for none but for a king.[41]

Hall describes her at some length in a passage developed from PV486 which is considerably reduced in Holinshed's version. After describing Henry, Hall writes:

But on the other parte, the Quene his wife, was a woman of a greate witte, and yet of no greater witte then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and couetous of honor, and of reason, pollicye counsaill, and other giftes and talentes of nature, *belongyng to a man, full and flowyng: of witte and wilinesse* she lacked nothyng, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, she was not vnexperte: but yet she had one poynt of a very woman: for often tyme, when she was vehemẽt and fully bente in a matter, she was sodainly like a wethercocke, mutable, and turnyng.[42]

Holinshed abbreviates the description:

The quéene contrariwise, a ladie of great wit, and no lesse courage, desirous of honour, and furnished with the gifts of reason, policie, and wisdome; yet sometime (according to hir kind) when she had béene fullie bent on a matter, suddenlie like a weather cocke, mutable and turning.[43]

Shakespeare exhibits the traits which Holinshed omits; he lays emphasis on her wit,[44] her masculine bearing, her wiliness, and her capability. On her wit, she makes her own comment:

[41] H 204; G 1. 624; *I Henry VI 5. 5.* 66-9.

[42] H 208. Grafton 1. 628 reprints the passage omitting the portion which I have printed in italics.

[43] Hol 3. 210.

[44] Hall is ordinarily contemptuous of women. See H 906.

> Believe me, lords, were none more wise than I,—
> And yet herein I judge mine own wit good,—
> This Gloucester should be quickly rid the world,
> To rid us from the fear we have of him.[45]

Hall mentions her manlike qualities in a passage reproduced in Holinshed: "This woman excelled all other, aswell in beautie and fauor, as in wit and pollicie, and was of stomack and corage, more like to a man, then a woman." But Shakespeare was recalling another passage, not reproduced by Holinshed, "The Quene hauyng a wit, more then the common sort of women haue," when he writes of Margaret's

> valiant courage and undaunted spirit—
> More than in women commonly is seen.[46]

Of her wiliness, Margaret's feigned surprise at the news of Gloucester's death is illustration.[47]

Shakespeare has departed markedly however from Hall's conception of Margaret's conduct at Barnet and after. Boswell-Stone has pointed out that in Hall, her spirit is completely broken after the battle,[48] whereas Shakespeare's Margaret is still the bold imperious leader, undaunted in spite of a severe reverse of fortune.[49] The same contrast continues after her defeat at Tewkesbury. In Hall, Margaret is found after the battle "almost dead for sorowe," and she is "conueyed in to Fraunce with small honor, which with so great triumphe and honorable enterteynmẽt was wt põpe aboue al pryde, receyued into this Realme. xxviii. yeres before."[50] The reason for this departure will appear presently.

Hall's characterization of Margaret gains strength by contrast with Henry VI. Omitted by Holinshed in a corresponding passage is Hall's comment: "He gaped not for honor, nor thristed for riches, but studied onely for the health of his soule: the sauyng wherof, he estemed to bee the greatest wisedome,

[45] *II Henry VI* 3. 1. 231-4.

[46] H 205; Hol 3. 207; H 234; G 1. 655; *I Henry VI* 5. 5. 70-1. See also *II Henry VI* 3. 2. 305-8; *III Henry VI* 1. 4. 113-7, 138-142.

[47] *II Henry VI* 3. 2. 23-5, 30, 59-64.

[48] H 297: "she like a woman all dismaied for feare, fell to the ground, her harte was perced with sorowe, her speache was in maner passed, all her spirites were tormented with Malencholy."

[49] *III Henry VI* 5. 4. 1-38. [B-S 338.]

[50] H 300-1; G 2. 43.

and the losse thereof, the extremest folie that could bee." In *II Henry VI*, Margaret expresses to Suffolk her disappointment in Henry:

> I thought King Henry had resembled thee
> In courage, courtship, and proportion:
> But all his mind is bent to holiness.[51]

Such glimpses of Hall's characterizations in the plays indicate that Shakespeare consistently turned to his history for dramatic material not obtainable in Holinshed. Somerset's accusation of extravagance in Gloucester has no counterpart in Holinshed,

> Thy sumptuous buildings and thy wife's attire
> Have cost a mass of public treasury.

But in Hall, Gloucester's enemies advance the same charge:

Whiche venemous serpentes, and malicious Tygers, perswaded, incensed and exhorted the quene, to loke well vpon the expenses and reuenues of the realme, and thereof to call an accompt: affirmyng plainly that she should euidently perceiue, that the Duke of Gloucester, had not so muche aduanced & preferred the commō wealth and publique vtilitie, as his awne priuate thinges & peculier estate.[52]

Gloucester's free conscience in the face of these accusations is likewise described in Hall, not in Holinshed: "he thought neither of death, nor of condempnacion to dye: suche affiaunce had he in his strong truthe, and suche confidence had he in indifferent iustice."[53] Shakespeare's Gloucester twice defends his innocence.

Tudor tradition maligned the Duke of Suffolk, and Shakespeare perpetuates the bad name that Hall gave him. The popular mind fixed on him as the cause of national dishonor at home and abroad to the extent that "the duke was called in euery mannes mouth, a traitor, a murderer, a robber of the kynges treasure, and worthy to bee put to moste cruell punishement." One of these phrases carries over into *II Henry VI*. The captain of the vessel which has captured the fleeing duke exclaims

[51] H 208-9; G 1. 628; *II Henry VI* 1. 3. 56-8.
[52] H 208; G 1. 629; *II Henry VI* 1. 3. 133-4. [B-S 249; K.]
[53] H 209; G 1. 629; *II Henry VI* 2. 4. 59-63; 3. 1. 100-2.

Now will I dam up this thy yawning mouth
For swallowing the treasure of the realm.[54]

At another point in Hall's narrative, the commons openly denounce Suffolk, " saiyng, that it was a shame to all the Realme, to se such a persone, infected with so many misdedes, either to rule about a prince or be had in honor. Of these wordes sprang dedes, and of this talkyng, rose displeasure." This feeling is dramatized in *II Henry VI* when Salisbury, the enraged commons at his back, insists that the king banish Suffolk.[55] Hall's remark concerning Somerset that he " ruled the kyng, ordred the realme, and moste might do with the quene," seems to have become attached to Suffolk in *II Henry VI* as

he that can do all in all
With her that hateth thee, and hates us all.[56]

Hall brings out three qualities in Edward which find their way into the plays: his courage, his wantonness, and his oath-breaking. Hall calls him " a yong prince of great wit and much stomacke," and Shakespeare carries on this tradition in the scenes at Blackheath and Wakefield.[57] Both Hall and Shakespeare describe him as wanton, and his marriage to Elizabeth Woodville as hasty.[58] But his chief reproach arose from his misrepresentation of his aim at York. In Hall's words, drawn from Polydore Vergil, he protested that he returned to England " neither to demaunde the realme of Englande, nor the superioritie of the same, but onely the duchie of Yorke his olde enheritance." So Edward in *III Henry VI* assures the townsmen

Why, and I challenge nothing but my dukedom,
As being well content with that alone.[59]

Hall's glowing description of Talbot as " thys English Hector & marcial flower," appears in Shakespeare as " a second Hector," [60] and his reputation as a terror to the French as explained by Hall is recalled repeatedly in the plays:

[54] H 217; G 1. 637; *II Henry VI* 4. 1. 73-4.
[55] H 218; G 1. 639; *II Henry VI* 3. 2. 254-266.
[56] H 225; G 1. 646; *II Henry VI* 2. 4. 51-2.
[57] H 227; G 1. 648; *II Henry VI* 5. 1. 137-9; *III Henry VI* 1. 2. 69-70; 1. 4 11-3
[58] H 284; G 2. 25; *III Henry VI* 1. 4. 74. H 265; *III Henry VI* 4. 1. 18.
[59] PV 517; H 291; G 2. 33; *III Henry VI* 4. 7. 23-4. [B-S 330-2.]
[60] H 227; *I Henry VI* 2. 3. 20.

This man was to the French people, a very scorge and a daily terror, in so much that as his person was fearfull, and terrible to his aduersaries present: so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent, in so much that women in Fraunce to feare their yong childrē, would crye, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth.

To Salisbury, Talbot tells of his treatment in captivity:

> Here, said they, is the terror of the French,
> The scarecrow that affrights our children so.

The Countess of Auvergne, seeing Talbot standing before her, exclaims,

> Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad,
> That with his name the mothers still their babes?

And Sir William Lucy, informed of Talbot's death, cries out,

> Is Talbot slain, the Frenchmen's only scourge,
> Your kingdom's terror and black Nemesis? [61]

Shakespeare's Warwick also derives in part from Hall's pages. Warwick's boast as he lies mortally wounded at Barnet, "And who durst smile when Warwick bent his brow?" recalls Hall's comment when Margaret's son, Edward, is espoused to Warwick's daughter:

wherevpon they diuined that the mariage of the Prince, should euer be a blot in the dukes iye, or the mariage of the Duke, a mote in the iye of the Prince, eche of them lokyng to be exalted, when therle on hym smiled: and eche of them again thinkyng to be ouer throwen when the erle of hym lowred.[62]

Hall's description of Warwick's popularity has verbal analogies with Shakespeare's. In Hall, his favor in the eyes of the people is

daily more encreased, by his abundant liberalitie, and plentifull house kepynge, then by his riches, aucthoritie, or high parentage: by reason of whiche doynges, he was in suche fauor and estimacion, emongst the common people, that thei iudged hym able to do all thynges, and that without hym, nothyng to be well done.

In *II Henry VI*, Salisbury remarks,

[61] H 230; G 1. 650; *I Henry VI* 1. 4. 42-3 [K]; 2. 3. 16-7 [K]; 4. 7. 77-8.
[62] H 281; G 2. 22; *III Henry VI* 5. 2. 22.

Warwick, my son, the comfort of my age,
Thy deeds, thy plainness, and thy house-keeping,
Have won the greatest favour of the commons.[63]

In Hall, Warwick is displeased with Edward's marriage " and thought it necessarye that king Edward should be deposed from his croune and royal dignitie, as an inconstant prince, not worthy of such a kyngly office." Shakespeare follows Hall:

I will revenge his wrong to Lady Bona,
And replant Henry in his former state.[64]

The Earl of Rutland is " a faire gẽtlemã, and a maydenlike person " in Hall; Shakespeare makes reference to

the harmless blood
Of sweet young Rutland, by rough Clifford slain.[65]

At the restoration of Henry VI, Montagu excuses his previous conduct on the grounds that it was only for fear that he took sides with Edward. For this reason, says Hall, he came to destruction: " For if he had manfully and appartly taken kyng Edwardes parte, surely he beyng an open enemie, had much lesse hurted, then beyng a fained, false and a coloured frende." So, in *III Henry VI*, Edward seeks to test the loyalty of Hastings and Montagu:

You twain, of all the rest,
Are near to Warwick by blood, and by alliance:
Tell me if you love Warwick more than me?
If it be so, then both depart to him;
I rather wish you foes than hollow friends.[66]

If, then, Shakespeare found in Hall a useful adjunct to his usual source, Holinshed, and if in certain characteristic respects, particularly in the development of character, Shakespeare preferred Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families* as the richer of the two in dramatic materials, it may well be asked to what extent Hall's theme, the national peril of domestic

[63] H 232; G 1. 652; *II Henry VI* 1. 1. 191-3. Boswell-Stone notices the unusual word " house kepynge " in Hall, but misses it in Holinshed where it occurs as a marginal note. B-S 247[2]; Hol 3. 301.

[64] H 265; G 2. 8; *III Henry VI* 3. 3. 197-8.

[65] H 251; G 1. 671: " a fayre Gentleman, and a maydenly person "; *III Henry VI* 2. 1. 62-3. See also *Richard III* 1. 3. 178.

[66] H 286; G 2. 28; *III Henry VI* 4. 1. 135-9.

sedition, makes itself felt in Shakespeare. Is there any reason to suppose that Hall's theme may have given unity and continuity to the plays as it did to the history? C. L. Kingsford has hinted at such a unity and traced it back to Hall. Commenting on Hall's glorification of the house of Tudor in *The Union of the Two Noble Families*, he says

> in this title there is foreshadowed a conception of the dramatic unity which underlies the cycle of Shakespeare's "Histories." It is not intended to suggest that Shakespeare wrote with this idea definitely before him. The plays were not composed in chronological order, and Shakespeare was not entirely responsible for the three parts of 'Henry VI.' But there the idea is.[67]

And it is significant, however obvious, that with the exception of *Lear*, *Cymbeline*, and *King John*, all of Shakespeare plays based on English history are laid within the period of Hall's history. He has portrayed dramatically the entire period up to the accession of Henry VII, not excepting the reign of Edward IV, which is absorbed in *III Henry VI* and *Richard III*. Kingsford pursues the idea further in linking *Richard II* with the two parts of *Henry IV*. Commenting on Henry's death-bed confession, he says: "This marks the passing away of the evil that began in the lists at Coventry. The three plays in which this theme is treated form a continuous whole."[68] But the evidence in the plays themselves points clearly to a continuity extending beyond the second part of *Henry IV*. Shakespeare has hinted at a continuation of the troubles of his own reign in his last words to Prince Hal:

> Yet, though thou stand'st more sure than I could do,
> Thou art not firm enough, since griefs are green;
> And all my friends, which thou must make thy friends,
> Have but their stings and teeth newly ta'en out;
> By whose fell working I was first advanc'd,
> And by whose power I well might lodge a fear
> To be again displac'd.[69]

And on the eve of the battle of Agincourt, that same Hal, now Henry V, harks back ruefully to the lists at Coventry:

[67] C. L. Kingsford, *English History in the Fifteenth Century and the Historical Plays of Shakespeare*, National Home-Reading Union Pamphlets, Historical Series, No. 1, [1916], p. 5.

[68] C. L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth Century England* (1925), p. 9.

[69] *II Henry IV* 4. 5. 201-207.

Not to-day, O Lord!
O! not to-day, think not upon the fault
My father made in compassing the crown.[70]

Certainly in Shakespeare's mind, the evil effects of Bolingbroke's usurpation did not terminate at his death.

As I have already pointed out,[71] Hall set wider bounds to his theme. In his dedication, intended for Henry VIII though actually addressed in print to the newly crowned Edward VI, he states explicitly: " For as kyng henry the fourthe was the beginnyng and rote of the great discord and deuision: so was the godly matrimony, the final ende of all discencions, titles and debates." [72] And after an elaborate and flamboyant introduction deploring the calamity of " intestine devision " in all countries from Julius Caesar's time to the present, he explains quite as clearly the basis of continuity:

And because there can be no vnion of agrement but in respect of a diuision, it is consequent to resõ that I manifest to you not onely the originall cause and foũtain of the same, but also declare the calamities, trobles & miseries whiche happened and chaunced duryng the tyme of the said contencious discencion.[73]

Furthermore, he reëstablishes this continuity by editorial comment on specific factional outbreaks, so that it is possible through these key passages to link the whole history into a commentary on the perpetuity of sedition. On the coronation of Henry IV, Hall looks into the future:

But who so euer reioysed at this coronacion, or whosoeuer delighted at his high promociõ, suer it is that Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche whiche was heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, the thirde begotten sonne of kyng Edwarde the third as you before haue heard, and Richard erle of Cãbridge the sonne to Edmond duke of Yorke, whiche had maried Anne sister to the same Edmonde, wer with these doynges neither pleased nor contente. In so much that nowe the divisiõ once beyng begon, the one linage persecuted the other, and never ceased till the heires males of bothe the lines were by battaill murdered or by sedicion clerely extincte and destroyed.[74]

Similar comments connect the attempt of the Earl of Cambridge on the life of Henry V, with Richard Plantagenet, Duke of

[70] *Henry V* 4. 1. 312-4.
[71] See above pp. 1-2.
[72] H vii.
[73] H 2.
[74] H 13.

York's claim to the crown, and Edward's attainment of it; the rivalry of Richard of York and John Beaufort II, Duke of Somerset, over the regency of France, with the eventual destruction of both, " and almoste all their lynes and ofsprynges, as within few yere you shall perceiue and se "; the murder of Humphrey of Gloucester with the destruction of the house of Lancaster.[75] In the same manner at succeeding points in the narrative, Hall traces the serpent, domestic sedition, to Cambridge's grandson, Edward IV, whose dissimulation with his faithful friend, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, brought misfortune as " men did afterward diuyne " on his descendants, and on his two brothers, Richard of Gloucester, later Richard III, whose cruel murder at Tewkesbury of Prince Edward, son of Margaret, became a new cause of civil strife, and George, Duke of Clarence, whose perfidy was not fully paid for until both of his children were destroyed in the reign of Henry VIII.[76]

Although some of these comments on sedition found their way into Holinshed's history, enough were omitted or modified to show that no such feeling for their value as links in his narrative existed in Holinshed's mind. Henry IV's motive for refusing to ransom Edmund Mortimer, " for then his title had been out of all doubt & question, and so vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion," is reduced in Holinshed to a wish that the Mortimers were out of the way, " for then all had beene well inough as he thought." [77] Of the love-feast arranged between Yorkists and Lancastrians, Hall remarks that " few or none of this company were vnblotted, or vndestroied by this dolorous drink of dissimulatiõ."[78] He links King Edward's alienation of Warwick by the marriage to Elizabeth Woodville with his expulsion from the realm, the destruction of the Nevilles and Woodvilles, and the murder of his sons; [79] Warwick's opposition to Edward with his death at Barnet field.[80]

None of these passages survives in Holinshed, and Shakespeare has not utilized them in the plays. Others, however, carry Hall's sense of the continuity of civil dissension into new

[75] H 61, 179, 210.
[76] H 265, 270, 301, 327.
[77] H 23; G 1. 485 follows Hall but omits the element of continuity, " and so . . . sedicion "; Hol 3. 20.
[78] H 238; G 1. 631. [79] H 264-5; G 2. 8. [80] H 269.

dramatic expression. Holinshed follows Hall in recording that Mortimer's inheritance descended at his death to Richard Plantagenet, son of Cambridge, but he omits Hall's forecast: "Whiche Richard within lesse then. xxx. yeres, as heire to this erle Edmond, in opē parliament claimed the croune and scepter of this realme, as herafter shal more manifestly appere."[81] Shakespeare expands the passage into the death-bed scene of *I Henry VI*, II, v, in which Mortimer explains in detail his right to the throne, and then whets the ambition of his nephew, Richard, by conferring his inheritance upon him:

> Thou art my heir; the rest I wish thee gather:
> But yet be wary in thy studious care.[82]

Again, Holinshed follows Hall's comment that the jealousies of Somerset and York resulted in destruction of themselves and their offspring, but he omits Hall's promise, "as within few yeres you shall perceiue and se." In *II Henry VI*, Margaret senses the danger:

> Nay then, this spark will prove a raging fire,
> If wind and fuel be brought to feed it with.[83]

When Gloucester protests Henry's marriage to Margaret of Anjou on the grounds that "it was more conueniente for a Prince, to marie a wife with riches and frendes, then to take a make with nothyng, and disherite himself and his realme of olde rights and auncient seigniories," his words are disregarded, "whiche facte," remarks Hall in a passage omitted by Holinshed, "Engendered such a flame, that it neuer wente oute, till bothe the parties with many other were consumed and slain, to the great vnquietnes of the kyng and his realme." On the same occasion in *I Henry VI*, when Henry appeals to Gloucester:

> And you, good uncle, banish all offence:
> If you do censure me by what you were,
> Not what you are, I know it will excuse
> This sudden execution of my will.
> And so, conduct me, where, from company
> I may revolve and ruminate my grief. [*Exit*]
> GLO. Ay, grief, I fear me, both at first and last.[84]

[81] H 128; G 1. 560.

[82] *I Henry VI* 2. 5. 96-7. Boswell-Stone (220) has noticed the verbal resemblance between Hall and Shakespeare.

[83] H 179; G 1. 606; *II Henry VI* 3. 2. 302-3.

[84] H 204; G 1. 625; *I Henry VI* 5. 5. 96-102.

Hall links the death of Gloucester with the loss of France and the destruction of Henry VI; because of internal troubles " men of warre were vnpayed, and no armye for resistẽce was either gathered or assẽbled together." So at the news of the loss of French towns at the beginning of *I Henry VI*, Exeter asks the messenger,

> How were they lost? what treachery was us'd?
> MESS. No treachery; but want of men and money.[85]

Aside from such occasional use of Hall's links, Shakespeare's adoption of the conventional prophecy and his treatment of the characters of Margaret of Anjou and Richard III also serve to dramatize the continuity of theme which Hall saw in the history of the fifteenth century. The prophecies describe the consequences of domestic dissension and show an immediate resemblance to Hall's links. Like the links, they may anticipate general or specific consequences and their predictions are certain to be fulfilled, although the Earl of Warwick of Henry IV's time rationalizes them.[86] The original cause of civil dissension, the usurpation of Bolingbroke, calls forth two prophecies, both of them general. Richard II prophesies:

> But ere the crown he looks for live in peace,
> Ten thousand bloody crowns of mother's sons
> Shall ill become the flower of England's face,
> Change the complexion of her maid-pale peace
> To scarlet indignation, and bedew
> Her pastures' grass with faithful English blood.[87]

Just before his arrest for capital treason, the Bishop of Carlisle gives the same ominous warning:

> And if you crown him, let me prophesy,
> The blood of English shall manure the ground
> And future ages groan for this foul act;
> Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,
> And in this seat of peace tumultous wars
> Shall kin with kin and kind with kind confound;
> Disorder, horror, fear and mutiny

[85] H 210; G 1. 631; PV 488; H 212; G 1. 633; *I Henry VI* 1. 1. 68-9.

[86] *II Henry IV* 3. 1. 80-92. When Hastings attempts to prophesy, John of Lancaster reproves him as "too shallow, To sound the bottom of the after-times." Prophecies at death are frequent; and it will be recalled Hotspur almost prophesies: *I Henry IV* 5. 4. 83-6.

[87] *Richard II* 3. 3. 95-100.

Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls.
O! if you rear this house against this house,
It will the woefullest division prove
That ever fell upon this cursed earth.
Prevent it, resist it, let it not be so,
Lest child, child's children, cry against you "woe!" [88]

Similar prophecies will be recalled throughout the plays: Richard II's prophecy before he is imprisoned in Pomfret, anticipating the Northumberland revolt described in *II Henry IV*, and its fulfillment; the Earl of Warwick's prophecy in the fictitious Temple Garden scene; Exeter's prophecy of the loss of France because of internal dissension after the feigned settlements of the quarrel between Gloucester and Beaufort; a similar prophecy by Gloucester as a consequence of Henry's marriage to Margaret of Anjou; York's prophecy of the deaths of Suffolk, Beaufort, Somerset, and Buckingham as a result of their murder of the Duke of Gloucester; the death prophecies of Gloucester, York, Henry VI, and Hastings.[89] All deal with the fearful consequences of sedition, all serve the same purpose in the plays as Hall's links in *The Union*. But no closer correspondence can be traced.

More conclusive as evidence that Shakespeare felt the dominance of the theme of civil dissension are the prophetic curses of Margaret. In order to include them at all, Shakespeare was forced to revise the character of the later Margaret as he found it in Hall. As I have already remarked, Hall makes of her after Barnet a defeated, exhausted, and thoroughly cowed woman. When she departs from England by ransom of her father, she departs also from the pages of Hall. As early as her retirement to Berwick after an unsuccessful attempt to regain her husband's kingdom, Hall comments that if she had not escaped "she had neither vexed kyng Edward after, as she did with a newe inuasion, nor yet she had not liued all her old age, in misery wretchednes and callamitie, as she did, leasyng bothe her husbande, her sonne, her Realme, and her honor." [90] When she

[88] *Richard II* 4. 1. 136-149. See also *Richard II* 4. 1. 322-3.

[89] *Richard II* 5. 1. 55-65; *II Henry IV* 3. 1. 65-79; *I Henry VI* 2. 4. 124-7; 3. 1. 188-200; *II Henry VI* 1. 1. 146-7; 2. 2. 69-76; 3. 1. 151-3; *III Henry VI* 1. 4. 35-6; 5. 6. 37-43; *Richard III* 3. 4. 102-4.

[90] H 259; G 2. 2.

returns to France after her escape to Berwick, Hall looks forward again to her last invasion of England "where she lost bothe husband and sõne, and also all her wealth, honor, and worldly felicitie."[91] Holinshed omits Hall's gossip concerning her unsuccessful attempt to land an expedition in England on the heels of Warwick, making it clear why her force is spent:

Her enemies saied, that it was Goddes iuste prouision, that she whiche had been the occasion of so many battailes, and of so muche manslaughter in Englande, should neuer returne thether again, to doo more mischief. Her frendes on the otherside, said, that she was kept awaie, and her iorney empeched by Sorcerors and Necromanciers.[90]

Before Tewkesbury, knowing that Edward is in close pursuit, "sore abashed, and wõderfully amased," she determines to flee to Pembroke in Wales, and is only dissuaded by Somerset.[93] There can be no doubt that Hall intends to insult over her fall:

And where in the beginning of her tyme, she lyued like a Quene, in the middel she ruled like an empresse, toward thende she was vexed with troble, neuer quyet nor in peace, & in her very extreme age she passed her dayes in Fraunce, more lyke a death then a lyfe, languishyng and mornyng in continuall sorowe, not so much for her selfe and her husbande, whose ages were almost consumed and worne, but for the losse of prince Edward her sonne (whome she and her husband thought to leue, both ouerlyuer of their progeny, and also of their kyngdome) to whome in this lyfe nothyng coulde be either more displeasant or greuous.[94]

This is a very different person from the dramatic Margaret who goes beyond mere defiance of her enemies to return on two occasions after her historical death to plague her enemies.[95] Yet different as she becomes in Shakespeare, the hint as well as the explanation for the development is in Hall. In her lowness of spirit at Barnet

[91] H 261; G 2. 5.

[92] H 287; G 2. 28.

[93] Miss King (330) ignores this passage as well as Hall's statement that at the news of Barnet "she like a woman all dismaid for feare, fell to the ground," in suggesting a likeness between the later Margaret in Hall and Shakespeare. H 300, 297.

[94] H 301; G 2. 43.

[95] There is no historical warrant in Shakespeare's sources for Margaret's appearance in *Richard III*; her banishment to her father in France definitely closes her career in both Hall and Holinshed. And in matter of fact, historically she had already died in retirement in her father's dominions. See Boswel-Stone 347.

The calamitie and misery of her time, she detested and abhorred, her vnstable and contrariant fortune, she stedfastly blamed and accused, her peinfull labor, her care of mynde, turned into infelicitie she muche lamented and bewailed the euill fate and destenie of her husband, whiche eminently before her iyes, she sawe to approche she accused, reproued, and reuiled, and in conclusion, her senses were so vexed, and she so afflicted, and caste into such an agony, that she preferred death before life, rather desiryng soner to die, then lenger to liue, and perauenture for this cause, that her interior iye sawe priuily, and gaue to her a secret monicion of the greate calamities and aduersities, which then did hang ouer her hed, and were likely incontinent to fall and succede whiche other persones, neither loked for nor regarded.[96]

This vision of her husband's and her own fate is obviously a prophetic vision, much in the vein of the other prophecies in the plays. The hint of occult powers, which gave her insight into future events, is the germ of the character of Margaret as she reappears in *Richard III* for the express purpose of cursing her enemies. Gloucester has just laid her present plight to York's curse at Wakefield, whereat she levels curses in kind against Elizabeth's son, Prince Edward, against Elizabeth herself, against Rivers, Dorset, and Hastings, and finally against Richard. After her curses have done their work and only Richard remains, she returns to teach Elizabeth, now bereaved of her two sons, the science of cursing.[97] At the close of *I Henry VI*, Shakespeare had reiterated Hall's condemnation of the Angevin marriage as the cause of subsequent losses at home and abroad. Thus the return of this unhistorical Margaret in *Richard III* provides the connection between the troubles during Henry VI's reign and those of Richard's, and serves to knit the last play in the series with the others. Hall saw this continuity of evil clearly, again in a passage not used by Holinshed:

This Quene Margarete might well consider and thynke, that these euill aduentures, chaunced to her for the moste parte, for the vnworthy death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, vncle to her husbande: Of the whiche mischaunce, although she wer not the very occasion and prouoker, yet she greatly offended in that she concented thereto, and did not saue his life, when she rulyng all other, might conueniently haue staied and letted it. For surely he beyng a lieu, and hauyng the moderacio and governaunce of the common

[96] H 297; G 2. 39. Holinshed omits the passage.
[97] *Richard III* 1. 3. 174-233; 4. 4. 1-125.

wealth, kyng Henry had neuer wauered in so many hasardes, and ieoperdies of his life as he did. I would desire of God, that all men would in egall balance, ponder & indifferently consider the causes, of these misfortunes and euill chaunces, the whiche beyng eleuate in aucthoritie, dooe mete and measure, Iustice and iniury, right and wrong, by high power, blynd aucthoritie, and vnbridled will.[98]

Richard III likewise shows changes in Shakespeare which emphasize the continuity. Again, Shakespeare disregards historical truth to bring him to the support of his father, Richard of York, at Blackheath,[99] and thus sets up as early as *II Henry VI* the dramatic conflict between Margaret of Anjou and Richard. York's death at Sandal Castle at the hands of the " she-wolf of France," the " tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide," draws a vow of vengeance or death from Richard.[100] And when Margaret and Richard meet at Towton, Edward, Richard's brother, identifies the Anjou marriage as the source for Henry's troubles at home and abroad:

> But when he took a beggar to his bed,
> And grac'd thy poor sire with his bridal day,
> Even then that sunshine brew'd a shower for him,
> That wash'd his father's fortunes forth of France,
> And heap'd sedition on his crown at home.
> For what hath broach'd this tumult but thy pride?
> Hadst thou been meek our title still had slept,
> And we, in pity of the gentle king,
> Had slipp'd our claim until another age.[101]

At Tewkesbury, he stabs Margaret's son, Prince Edward, to death. Margaret begs him to kill her, too, and he offers to do it forthwith, but is prevented by King Edward, who stands by. She is led off uttering a curse against Richard and his house.[102] But her greatest curse, for which Shakespeare recalled her from France, is consummated at Bosworth. There on the eve of battle, the ghosts of Richard's victims present themselves at his tent " and every one did threat To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard." [103]

For this scene, Hall's comments on the consequences of

[98] H 297-8; G 2. 39.
[99] See Boswell-Stone 287, 287[2]. *II Henry VI* 5. 1. 114-140.
[100] *III Henry VI* 1. 4. 111, 137.
[101] *III Henry VI* 2. 2. 154-162.
[102] *III Henry VI* 5. 5. 82.
[103] *Richard III* 5. 3. 206-7.

Richard's crimes may well have served as inspiration. On the occasion of the murder of Henry VI, Hall predicts vengeance:

But whosoeuer was the manqueller of this holy man, it shall appere, that bothe the murtherer and the consenter, had condigne and not vndeserued punishement, for their bloudy stroke, and butcherly act: and because they had now no enemies risen, on whom they might reuenge themself, as you shall hereafter perceiue, they exercised their crueltie, against their awne selfes: and with their proper bloud, embrued and polluted their awne handes and membres.

So Richard, after seeing the ghosts, confers with his own conscience:

> Is there a murderer here? No. Yes, I am:
> Then fly: What! from myself? Great reason why:
> Lest I revenge. What! myself upon myself?
> Alack! I love myself.[104]

Sir Thomas Vaughan, at the scene of his execution, comments:

A wo worthe them ye toke the prophesie that G. should destroy kyng Edwardes childrē, meanyng yt by the duke of Clarēce lord George which for yt suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. duke of Gloucester, which now I se is he yt shall and will accōplishe the prophesie & destroye kynge Edwardes children & all their alyes & frēdes, as it appereth by vs this day, whō I appele to the high tribunal of God for his wrongful murther & our true innocencye.[105]

Elizabeth seeks God's vengeance for the murder of the princes: "After longe lamentacion, when she sawe no hope of reuengynge otherwyse, she knelyd downe and cried on God to take vengeaunce for the disceaytfull periurie, as who saide she nothyng mistrusted but once he would remember it." [106] Richard's reputation rose after his seizure of the throne, yet

he couertly had intelligēce, that he was like to lose his estate and could by no meanes haue long contynuaunce in his vsurped power: for assueredly after the death of kynge Edwards chyldren when any blusteringe wynde perelous thunder or terrible tempest, chansed or were apparantly like to happen: Sodainly the people hauinge in there freshe memorie the facinorous acte of there kynge and prince, woulde openly crye and make vocyferacion that God dyd take vengaunce and punishe the pore Englishemen, for the cryme and

[104] H 303; G 2. 45; *Richard III* 5. 3. 185-8.
[105] H 364; G 2. 102.
[106] H 380; G 2. 119.

offence of there vngracious kynge, whome they blamed, accursed and wysshed to haue extreme tortures.[107]

Karl Schmidt, in studying the development of the Margaret legend,[108] first noticed that Shakespeare's Margaret is much closer to the typical Senecan revenger than his predecessors'; and it is quite possible that the development in the characters of both Margaret and Richard may be partially explained by the contemporary vogue for revenge plays. But Hall had already suggested the revenge motive, once in a passage clearly used by Shakespeare, and Richard's misdeeds, like Margaret's, by perpetuating the evils of Henry VI's reign in *Richard III*, extend Hall's theme as a basis for dramatic continuity.

Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families* was not reprinted after 1550; and it lost its identity in the process of incorporation in the larger Tudor histories which followed. Yet, as I have shown, his history was not neglected in the pages of Shakespeare; for Shakespeare repeatedly refers to Hall for dramatic material, plays the host to fifteenth-century characters as Hall developed them, and takes over the seminal idea which gives unity to Hall's narrative. Particularly through the character of Margaret of Anjou, the perils of civil dissension and the English right to France are given dramatic expression, and provide a unity for the historical plays which is worthy of recognition.

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[107] H 380-1; G 2. 120.

[108] Karl Schmidt, "Margareta von Anjou vor und bei Shakespeare," *Palaestra* 54, 1906.

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